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two and a half hours. Even if the husband had been in the right, it would have been hard to stand up against such a protest, but in this case the village was so strongly in support of the wife, that he removed the curse with the proper ceremony before nightfall. This was a particularly dramatic incident, but I heard of a number of cases in which deserted wives were left in complete possession of the family grain bin.

At death a man's ownership of the granary is also clearly recognized. All supplies of millet and food ripening on the garden-beds, theoretically speaking, go to his heir in the direct matrilineal line, but inheritance is often only fixed after some months' delay. Thus there is usually little food left in the granary to hand on to the heir selected. In any case it is considered hard-hearted for the latter to exercise his privileges if a widow and children suffer loss by that means.

Where neither divorce nor death takes place the balance of interest between the claims of the husband and wife, or rather between his relatives and hers, has to be gradually achieved by a process of mutual adjustment, often giving rise to a good deal of tension under the particular condition of matrilocal residence. Briefly speaking, the wife has, of course, full charge of the granary, and is entirely responsible for the care and allotment of the food. As in our society it is for her to decide for whom she cooks and how much. As she belongs to a cooking team of her own family relatives and shares with them, it is natural that her own kinswomen in the matrilocal group are in a particularly strong position. On the other hand, the husband, ultimately the owner of the millet, has his own relatives to satisfy. For instance, we have seen that his sisters have very strong claims on his help. I have seen a chief's sister march into the royal enclosure, pull a cloth out of a trunk in her brother's inner room and take it away without permission, the owner merely laughing ruefully and saying, 'If I had been careful I should have hidden that cloth better.' These princesses also demand meat and beer from their brothers in an imperious manner quite at variance with the subservient behaviour of the chief's wives and courtiers. Among commoners the contrast is not so great, but the sisters are still in a privileged position. A man's mother will not have such freedom, since she is tabooed from coming into close contact with her daughter-in-law, but she also can exert her claims if in need. Women also take liberties with the

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pots, and the same number of baskets and a couple of blankets would be the usual equipment. Few men own more than one cloth, or an outfit of European clothes such as shorts and a shirt, or the tattered remnants of these. Women rarely have more than one frock or cloth. Besides these, the people treasure certain hereditary objects of no economic value such as the bow of the man, the bead girdle (*umushingo*) of the woman, and certain beads, ivory bracelets, or anklets. A few Bemba own goats and sheep, and many keep chickens and pigeons. All these possessions are individually owned and bequeathed to descendants according to rule, i.e. the heirlooms described above descend to the legal heirs, the maternal nephews or grandsons. Any personal property made by a man, or acquired by his efforts, may go to his own sons, his wife, or his sister, as the case may be. His clothes or money, or his hut, for the year or two it remains habitable, go to his wife or his children, and the working pots and baskets to the wife or the sister.

If the material possessions of the Bemba are few in number, they are also impermanent. Few objects can be reckoned as lasting more than four or five years. It is impossible to protect the wood of houses and furniture from the ravages of white ants, and the same applies to baskets, mats, and most of the other contents of an ordinary hut. Even sacred relics guarded with the utmost care seem to have been frequently destroyed in the past by insects or fire, and most of the surviving heirlooms are those of iron or copper, ivory, or a few beads. This in itself affects the people's attitude to property, and the social values associated with its accumulation.

To turn to present-day conditions, it must be realized that a money income is not yet a universal measure of wealth in this community. The amount of money the individual Bemba handles each year is very small. I put it at 15*s.* to £1 on an average (cf. Chap. X). Money can only be obtained by work for Europeans or occasionally for fellow Africans. The average unskilled wage was 7*s.* 6*d.* a month during my stay, and the opportunities for regular employment in the country were very few.[1] Practically only the domestic servants and clerks could be considered as regular wage earners, and these were naturally a very small proportion of the community. A certain amount of money is said to

[1] Cf. the figures for absentee labour given in Chapter I. It was reckoned in 1934 that in the Kasama area only 30 per cent. could have earned their tax of 10*s.* locally.

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224 411 [435 23] (*d*) *Spears, bows, dogs, and guns.* The Bemba occasionally hunt in twos and threes with spears and dogs. Trained dogs are very valuable—about 10*s.*—and hard to buy. I never saw hunters go out with dogs, but I know that they are extremely skilful in throwing spears at a distance of about twenty feet, and that they sometimes kill small duiker in this manner. Bows and arrows are carried by very old men only and used to shoot at monkeys raiding gardens. [428] A bow is handed down ceremoniously to a dead man's heir but is not often used in the hunt. It is the ambition of every native to own a muzzle-loading gun, which he can purchase for about 30*s.* and obtain a Government licence to use. Many Bemba still go to the mines for no other purpose than to earn the money for a gun, which seems to promise security and prestige in their old age. However, many of these guns are in fact more deadly to the hunter than to the quarry, since they are rammed with shot, slag iron, and rusty nails till the long-suffering barrels explode. It is unlikely that many buck are killed in this way.

[177 643] European rifles are owned only by hunters employed by Europeans, or chiefs. The Bemba are said to be skilled trackers and think nothing of spending two or three days in pursuit of game. Game which is killed with a gun is the property of the shooter, to divide as he pleases, after he has given a portion to the nearest headman or chief. There is no special ritual attached to shooting, although the hunter may ask a blessing from the headman if he wishes, and in any case calls on his *imipashi* and carries magic charms.

224 463 (*e*) *Elephant hunters.* The Bemba elephant hunters were typical magician-specialists (*ifibinda*), i.e. they possessed both skill and the magic necessary to give them success. Elephants were killed formerly by the aid of weighted spears of specially heavy make by hunters known as *bashimunini*, with dogs and spears and large crowds of beaters by another type of hunter known as *bakalongwe*, or with guns traded from the Arabs by those called *Bafundi*. Nowadays elephant hunters only work for the Government or for certain big chiefs with special permission. The ordinary native is allowed to kill an elephant only when it is actually raiding his garden.

[422] All elephant hunters were under the direct control of the chief in the old days, and he had the monopoly of the ivory so obtained. The chief summoned the hunters, but they were led by the *icibinda*.

614 has finally been settled the *banungwe* are again
616 essential. They have also to brew the beer for
764 the feast held for the kinsmen on such occasions. Besides these necessary ritual functions which people perform for their *banungwe*, they also taunt them at the funeral, irritate them and make jokes. Some of the opposite clan members must follow the burial party to the grave. The moment the body has been buried and earth piled over it in a mound, one of the *banungwe* breaks the silence with a sudden shout. He rails at the mourning family, mocks at them, and accuses them of having buried a live man. He calls out, 'You, there! Why do you bury a man 'who is alive? Listen to him knocking down 'there! Can't you hear him? He is asking 'for some snuff. You enemies, you! (the usual 'term applied by *banungwe* to each other). See 'what things you do! You go and bury live 'men!' The taunts are, of course, expected, but were received, at each funeral I attended, with a kind of horrified silence, till suddenly the tension broke, and the mourners who had been wailing for some six hours without break, began sheepishly to laugh, and broke into an unceremonious run back to the village, still pursued by shouts from the irrepressible *banungwe*, 'Look 'out you now! He has risen (*Kubuka*) from 'the grave, that man you buried. He is coming 'after you asking for porridge.'[8] Older natives say that the mourners were beaten by their *banungwe* in the old days and add that the latter
• [428] were also responsible for handing over to the heirs the insignia of inheritance—the bow of the dead man, or the belt of the woman—but I never saw either of these customs practised myself.

614 As ritually expressed the traditional attitude
616 between *banungwe* is therefore one of hostility,
522 and yet, as the complementary nature of the clan names imply, one of reciprocal service. *Banungwe* regularly address each other as 'You, 'my enemy!' (*Mwe mulwani mwe!*) and delight in laughter at the habits of the objects, whether animal or plant, of the opposite clan. A member of the crocodile clan will scoff at one of the fish people and deride him as, 'You! You are just 'my food ration!' (*poso*, the word used for a government ration given to employees). 'Come 'over here! I want to give you to my wife to 'cook.' The *munungwe* of the fish clan retaliates

[775]

[8] The word *kubuka* is that used for a dead man's spirit which returns to haunt the living (a *ciwa*).

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